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582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to (They did)
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

791 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
● 624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwi-
ria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen[1] says, "big
mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

632 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well
622 as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second
624 thought may prove to be a kind of assistant
614 kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly adminis-
trative officers, and are not "adat chiefs."
The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as
well as the other three mosa laki). This in-
dicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong,
territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the
old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere.
Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and
pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the
territorial organization, they had only localized
clans. Thus they have the dual division of
chiefs into the administration--territory and
into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found
693 excellent substantiation of this in that a big
632 case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for
624 example the case in which the Dutch government
614 was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged
622 by the kapitan with the assistance of the four
kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In
a small case, however, involving adat, judgment
is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases
involve the kampong, which comes before the clan,
I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere,
acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au,
and the sike sani. It looks as though the old
localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate.
And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus
even in succession they have the genealogical
principle. It comes out clearly in these four
adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku
these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the
suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are
still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 13--Analyst]

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

●624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how
171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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764 565 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 [197] There is a mission school here in the kampong. The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 178 [302] The clothes here consist of a sarong for the men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,

286 531 and many people are presently weaving on back bar looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 124 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 624 622 565 Also I forgot to say that there were some remarks about how, in an adat case, where the four mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

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	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632 13.	Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621 14.	Mbago	Mbgko (?)
15.	Pemodjera	Pémo Djera
16.	Volofeo	Wolo Feo
17.	Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
18.	Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said [829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 624 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
●624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Before the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

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773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
●[624] held by these suku were:

1.	Rewarangga:	Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2.	Reandona:	Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3.	Nggonggora'ba:	Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4.	Odja:	Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5.	Tibo:	Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

632 It can be seen that the kapitan descended
624 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
614 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapitanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

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511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

164 Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
511 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
● 624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

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624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

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(1) b. Kelake Ama Belolong
c. Kelake Ama Rere

--Kepala Kampong Keleng (Leworita) (IIb)

II. Radja Tuan Leworita (IIa)
(1) a. Kelake Subamaki(ng) (same man as II)
(2) b. Kelake Harutmaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Tapopuka(ng)

--Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

III. Radja Tuan Ama Hurint (IIIa)
(2) a. Kelake Hadumbole(ng) (Same man as IIIa)
(1) b. Kelake Marimaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Melamaki(ng)

IV. Radja Tuan Lewato (IVa)
a. Kelake Waru'i(ng) (same man as IVa)
b. Kelake Waktuka(ng)
c. Kelake Tuhowutung

V. Radja Tuan Lewodoreng (Vb)
a. b. Kelake Waru'i(ng)--Engamaki(ng)
(same man as V)

(The arabic numerals to the left of the lower case letters in the above list refer to the relative rank of the offices listed.)

The last of these five suku is small and so has only one officer. There are only nine men in this suku (they reckon the size of a suku by the number of men in it), and thus there are perhaps only about thirty to forty people in all. They mentioned other suku with forty or more men. Lewato is also not very large. They say it has about twice as many as Lewodoreng. (These are IV and V.)

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The kepala kampong is purely an administrative chief. The adat chiefs, who were evidently the only chiefs formerly, are the radja tuan and the

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

chiefs and also clear up the exact differences between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

The next day I got an explanation of the officers. The three kepala kampong (called Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administrative officers. They are chosen by their respective suku. They have no ritual function as such, unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworita	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

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622 Ama Hurint — Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
624 — Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
614 — Cut: Man from Hurint, except
796 Nipatale.
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231 Lewato — Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng — Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
567 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or eat.
They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
[753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
● 624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

R

693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

D

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. [614] And there is also a big suku feast when the [342] bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527 [614] [342] 000

R

614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got to the point where they said that there are really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
● 624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They know this. I asked who were really higher in rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong, and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

614 There is no question here but that the Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here,
241 and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
364 methods are better and so are the houses, and the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 ~~the~~ young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are no other obvious signs of pagan religion in the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask about. It looks as though it might have been a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and the stones around it. The photo of the stone figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double kampong, with two main parts, and it has therefore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
[291] tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes, and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beautifully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge shapes with a common center. There are many adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is because it is easier to fence them in this fashion, but I suspect there is some cosmological significance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle, and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
1 [See pp. 890-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cat. 113--Analyst]

We

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

War

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that [184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

We

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid.) The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We

621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

Weo

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

Weo

614 166 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 773 824 784 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring below Weol. There are bamboo trees there descended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 784 562 783 Women from other clans marrying into Weol must take on the taboo of their husbands. A Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 632 624 622 [634] There is a nobility which applies to the radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the central kampongs of the gelarang districts, for example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

565 632 624 622 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

614 We get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the
178 kepala kampong are built in the new style, as are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

000 614 592 342 178 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here: Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses, and thus there are four in all. There are more houses, however, and these are of the non-wool newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 531 554 624 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's house. The other type, the straight upright rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 342 592 554 534 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there are four households. The tuan tanah has a section to one side, since the old place in the rear, as in the round house, is impossible because the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 582 614 [621] Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out of the clan. It is also possible to marry within or without the kampong, and the kampong usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

We

872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they are too old. This is a big reason why there is less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah family. This is clearly the area of least acculturation, although in agriculture and technology they are just as advanced if not more so than in the other areas. For example, witness the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here, and the mother's brother's daughter marriage still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions. Some of these are large and some are small. Some are for the family, and some are celebrated by larger units. Some are celebrated by the entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medicine man, mbako decided when one is needed. Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc., and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his trade from his father, but there are cases where such succession is not followed. There is one in Weol. However, they will never tell an outsider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all know who he is. However, even during a rite, he keeps in the background so that he can be kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the fear of the mission or the government or what? I couldn't get much about the latter, but I will try later. This is amazing!

We
534 drums and gongs were brought here from These several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624]

At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

We.

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We
614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also
114 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 10 --Analyst]

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776 782 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 776 782 231 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko randang and lingko umah. The former are under the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah. The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa- [526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 782 The agricultural feasts are:

(1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A • 624 pig is sacrificed.

231 527 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nageh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
624 on piles. On one side was the house of the
769 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
346 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
565 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
554 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
574 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in

624 565 554 769 346 574 [782] order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase his fame. However, a common man cannot do this. Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions. Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house has a wood post in front, on either side beside the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

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342 531 [171] Also, beside the door of the house and on the porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 342 531 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 231 [624] In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

●624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 574 632 624 The great suku feasts are a kind of refresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku of the area come and feast and pledge friendship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] [342] [178] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed animals. Nowadays he throws them away after eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 533 [124] As for legends and stories of the past, at first they said that they have none, or rather that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat.113--Analysis]

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
●624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
● 624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case
hearing. His younger brother is the adminis-
[565] strative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[212] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
nobility the people would not follow him, and
so I can see that they choose a man of the
adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family
for the administrative kepala kampong and in
addition one who can read and write. Then
they can keep the old man in the adat post.)
Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the
kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same
pattern holds for the district. The kapitan
is the administrative man, and then the mosa
laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This
might be the same man, I suppose. Then they
have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the kapitan), could ask questions and keep things in line. The kepala kampong must be present too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong). This case was one concerned with marriage. I must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administration. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are supposed to be used for administrative posts by the government. But they are rarely so used evidently, and this causes the dual system: adat and administration. They may coincide at any point. Generally, I think that

R Generally, I think that
632 622 ●624 693 631 the government has not put adat chiefs (for example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I can think of the following possible reasons: (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

231 417 Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 211 Ngada "resting places" along the road are rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

634 Until 1
632 not so long ago there were three radjas there:
177 Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also
[661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
● 624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [Liaison officer in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [Liaison officer, Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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632 634 622 [77] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
	Total	37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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524 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolorec.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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Little meat is
262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but
574 these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
● 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were
178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

• 624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

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632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

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614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

789 In regard to magic power, he says that there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

624 All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
646 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

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565 555 the present time. Thus the guru and the assistant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 614 422 565 The only time one can see status marks is at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn. These are made of gold and are now largely lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 565 624 [178] [429] The social order of the individual, family, etc., here has not changed very much. The most direct thing is that only certain folk of the right suku have land rights in the kampong. Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Palueh Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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200 much of a waste of animals.

796 614 346 I finally found out which kampongs do the main ritual functions when they have a general Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuniti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 614 793 565 789 756 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself is so impressed by. There are priests in the sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition, there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 797 658 The schools are government schools, but the mission runs them and evidently provides, but does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 425 624 This last category accounts for the many outside couples. Thus I discovered that they can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 624 This led to a discussion of the division of land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] [634] [661] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they

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425 stand with the families and get a share, like
624 any ordinary person? This led to the usual
565 wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he
634 came through. The truth is that the kraeng
661 don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan [578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed"). or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
● 624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas ´
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

´[See bibliography,cat.113--Analyst]

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

166 The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
621 cause for worry, because the original kampong
614 dwellers keep control, no matter how many newcomers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The [567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi- [624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 518 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Lalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

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622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

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648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

As far as nobility is concerned, there are
565 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
789 they have no magic power. The kraeng says,
756 however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

We

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, [614] [632] they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

We

	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

Wm

624
614
[124]

I got the following information. However, in many cases the records did not jibe with the map, and others are questionable, so I sent him a letter about this.

Office	No.
Ama Datong kelake	24
Ama Datong ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Radja kelake (rank 2)	24
Ama Datong Ama Radja ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong Ama Radja tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Belolong kelake (rank 1)	35 (277 aide)
Ama Datong Ama Belolong ne'a luka	36
Ama Datong Ama Belolong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Rere Kelake (no rank)	14
Ama Datong Ama Rere ne'a luka	(none)
Ama Datong Ama Rere tuno wudjo	
Kepala kottang	140 (Belolong)
Leworita kelake	345
Leworita ne'a luka	361
Leworita tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Subamaking kelake (rank 1)	345 (616 aide)
Leworita Subamaking ne'a luka	361
Leworita Subamaking tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Harutmaking kelake (rank 2)	304
Leworita Harutmaking ne'a luka	
Leworita Harutmaking tuno wudjo	245
Leworita Tapupukang kelake (rank 3)	375
Leworita Tapupukang ne'a luka	
Leworita Tapupukang tuno wudjo	
Kepala Keleng	366 (Harutmaking)
Ama Hurint kelake	186
Ama Hurint ne'a luka	
Ama Hurint tuno wudjo	

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614	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng kelake (rank 2)	186
624	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng ne'a luka	205, 399
	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng tuno wudjo	
	Ama Hurint Marimaking kelake (rank 1)	134
	Ama Hurint Marimaking ne'a luka	
	Ama Hurint Marimaking tuno wudjo	
	Ama Hurint Melamaking kelake (rank 3)	
	Ama Hurint Melamaking ne'a luka	
	Ama Hurint Melamaking tuno wudjo	666
	Kepala Hurint	468 (Melamaking)
	Lewato kelake	547
	Lewato ne'a luka	548
	Lewato tuno wudjo	552
	Lewato Ama Waru'ing kelake (rank 1)	547
	Lewato Ama Waru'ing ne'a luka	548
	Lewato Ama Waru'ing tuno wudjo	552
	Lewato Waktukang kelake (rank 2)	498 (?)
	Lewato Waktukang ne'a luka	
	Lewato Waktukang tuno wudjo	263
	Lewato Tuhowutung kelake (rank 3)	
	Lewato Tuhowutung ne'a luka	
	Lewato Tuhowutung tuno wudjo	
	Lewodoreng kelake	235 (?)
	Lewodoreng ne'a luka	236
	Lewodoreng tuno wudjo	
	Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing kelake (rank 1)	235 (?)
	Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing ne'a luka	236
	Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing tuno wudjo	
	Lewodoreng Engamaking kelake (rank 2)	235 (?)
	Lewodoreng Engamaking ne'a luka	236
	Lewodoreng Engamaking tuno wudjo	
	Kepala kampong: (main one)	468 (Hurint)
		140 (Kottang)
		366 (Keleng)

Wa

624 Djurutulis (scribe)	475
614 Mandur	382
Guru sekolah (school teacher)	94
Mandur sekolah	313
Molang	616
Marang besar (prayer leader)	616
Maráng besar	626
Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Bpu Kohule	672

624 162 871 771 212

Examining the ranks by age, education, and religion, we find the following (and not all information is in yet; see letter to him):

(1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

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162 of schooling; and he is a Catholic.

●624
871 (7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades,
771 and he is Catholic.
212

(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

R

ROWOREKE

621 Sections are:
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I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

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VEOL--NDUNG

162 621 592

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

We

Officers: Veol

	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
162					
624 Tuan tanah	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
614 Tuan panga lambar	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
771 Tuan panga Rinteng	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
212 Tuan panga Rundu	62	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 1	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 2	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 3	127	Papang	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 4	122	Leko	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 5	80	Veol	35	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 6	99	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate

Officers: Ndung

Tuan tanah	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rosong	168	Veol	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan panga Nggurus	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 7	304	Tjarep	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 8	324	Senda	20?	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 9	347	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 10	214	Veol	25	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 11	186	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 12	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 13	285	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 14	260	Manong	45	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 15	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	(Lives in Meler)				
Tuan panga Rosong (helper)	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate